fetch Nari Fiyanggo. In a short time they got back and dismounted. Baldu Bayan met them, and 35
as they were coming into the house the Nišan shaman saw them and laughingly said, "Noble sir, you who will give strength to the spirits, have you come? Virtuous Mr. Nari Fiyanggo, brother and assistant who will provide help for the gods, listen! Help me, your elder sister, by harmonizing beautifully with the tune. According to that which was established of old, I confidently entrust the tambourine and drum to you, brother and assistant. If you are unable, I will beat your thighs with a dampened, leather-covered drumstick. If you do not harmonize with the chanting and murmuring, I will beat your buttocks with a wet drumstick made of cherry wood!"

After she said this, Nari Fiyanggo laughed and replied, "Powerful, strange Nišan shaman, I, your younger brother, know this. I do not require a lot of instruction!"

He sat down on the oven-bed, prepared tea and food, and after finishing this he immedi- 36
ately harmonized, striking the drum.

Then the Nišan shaman tied the shaman's garments, bells, and skirts onto her body and put the nine-bird cap on her head. Her tall, slender body waved like a trembling willow, imitating the tune *Yang cun*;[14] it shook with her loud voice and rose up with her high voice. The soft tune winding, her subtle voice accompanying, she beseeched in a murmur:

Hoge yage Please come, escaping
Hoge yage from the stone pit!
Hoge yage Please descend quickly!
Hoge yage

As she spoke the shaman became disoriented

14. *Yang cun* (Chinese *yang-ch'un* 陽春) is the name of an ancient Chinese musical composition [Morohashi 1955-60:11:993].

and the spirit entered, permeating her fully. Suddenly, gritting her teeth, she began to mumble:

Hoge yage Lead assistant
Hoge yage standing to the side,
Hoge yage great assistant
Hoge yage standing next to me,
Hoge yage submissive assistant
37 *Hoge yage* standing near,
Hoge yage clever assistant
Hoge yage standing nearby,
Hoge yage having opened your thin ears,
Hoge yage listen!
Hoge yage Having closed your thick ears,
Hoge yage Listen!
Hoge yage Having fastened the rooster[15]
Hoge yage to my head,
Hoge yage make ready!
Hoge yage Having tied to my foot
Hoge yage the striped dog,[16]
Hoge yage make ready!
Hoge yage Place at my side
Hoge yage one hundred lumps
Hoge yage of old bean paste.[17]
Hoge yage Having wrapped one hundred bundles

15. The significance of the rooster in shamanizing is mentioned in passing by Krotkov (n.d.:132) in connection with a ceremony performed in order to bring back the wandering soul of one who has suffered soul loss: "In order to catch the soul, the shaman takes a rooster with him . . . and sets out to the fields at night."

16. In his description of burial preparations among the Tungus, Shirokogoroff [1935:210] notes that animals, especially dogs, must be kept away from the corpse, since dogs are believed to carry the soul into the lower world.

17. Shirokogoroff [1935:200]: "Generally, the Tungus and Manchus give the spirits those kinds and forms of food which they themselves appreciate unless there are special kinds and forms preferred by the spirits."

Hoge yage of coarse paper,
Hoge yage make ready!

Hoge yage I am going to pursue a soul
Hoge yage into a dark place.
Hoge yage I surmise that I will go
Hoge yage to the land of the dead.
Hoge yage I am going to fetch a life
Hoge yage in an evil place.
Hoge yage I am going to raise
Hoge yage a fallen soul.

Hoge yage Trusted assistant,
Hoge yage take charge of leading me. 38
Hoge yage Truly try hard
Hoge yage to revive me when I come back.
Hoge yage Throw water
Hoge yage around my nose:
Hoge yage twenty measures.
Hoge yage Pour water
Hoge yage around my face:
Hoge yage forty buckets.
Hoge yage

Having uttered this, she was thrown down and immediately her appearance began to change. Then the assistant, Nari Fiyanggo, approached her and had her lie down. He arranged the bells and skirt, tied up the rooster and the dog, and lined up the bean paste and paper. He seated himself next to the shaman and seized the drum; then he began to mutter, using the drumstick to 39 lead and conduct the spirits.

Cinggelji inggelji The candle
Cinggelji inggelji having been darkened,
Cinggelji inggelji tonight
Cinggelji inggelji for the sake of the soul
Cinggelji inggelji of Sergudai Fiyanggo
Cinggelji inggelji of the Bayara clan,

Cinggelji inggelji she has made a kow-
tow.
Cinggelji inggelji She is pursuing a
soul
Cinggelji inggelji to a dark place.
Cinggelji inggelji She goes to fetch a
life
Cinggelji inggelji in an evil place.
Cinggelji inggelji She is bringing
support
Cinggelji inggelji for a dead soul.
Cinggelji inggelji As one powerful in
regard to ghosts,
Cinggelji inggelji as one experienced
with evil phantoms,
Cinggelji inggelji she is famous
Cinggelji inggelji throughout the
world.
Cinggelji inggelji She is renowned
Cinggelji inggelji in all lands!
Cinggelji inggelji

40 After he said this, the Nišan shaman led the rooster and dog, put the bean paste and paper on her shoulders, and accompanied by all the spirits, she proceeded toward the land of the dead to seek Ilmun Han. As she went, the beast-spirits ran, the bird-spirits flew, and the serpents slithered. Traveling like a whirlwind she arrived at the bank of a river. Around her she noticed no place to cross; she saw neither ferry nor boat. While she was worriedly looking around, a man was traveling along the opposite bank by punting a boat. The Nišan shaman saw him and called out:

Hobage yebage Lame sir!
Hobage yebage Ferryman!
Hobage yebage Listen and take us!
Hobage yebage Having opened your thin
ears,
41 *Hobage yebage* listen!

Hobage yebage Having closed your thick ears,
Hobage yebage please listen!
Hobage yebage Ugly Rogue,[18]
Hobage yebage won't you listen and remember?
Hobage yebage If the offerings are good
Hobage yebage you will become honored.
Hobage yebage If the offerings are good
Hobage yebage you will advance.
Hobage yebage Having acted as a lord,
Hobage yebage you will become virtuous.

Hobage yebage I am going to meet with the family of my father.
Hobage yebage I am going to rest with the family of my mother.
Hobage yebage I am going adorned
Hobage yebage to the house of my maternal grandfather.
Hobage yebage I proceed in dance
Hobage yebage to the place of my maternal grandmother.
Hobage yebage I go proudly
Hobage yebage to the home of my aunt (mother's younger sister).
Hobage yebage I go to fetch a life
Hobage yebage to the home of my uncle (father's younger brother). 42

Hobage yebage If you take me across
Hobage yebage I will give you bean paste.
Hobage yebage If you take me across quickly

18. The function of the Ugly Rogue is remarkably similar to that of Charon, the ferryman of the Greek underworld who carries the souls of the dead across the River Styx.

Hobage yebage I will give you paper.
Hobage yebage You will not take me to no avail;
Hobage yebage I will give you a fee.
Hobage yebage If you really take me across
Hobage yebage I will give you goods.
Hobage yebage If you take me across quickly
Hobage yebage I will present you
Hobage yebage with strong liquor.
Hobage yebage I go to redeem a life
Hobage yebage in an evil place.
Hobage yebage I go to pursue a soul
Hobage yebage in a dark place.
Hobage yebage

When the lame rogue heard this, rowing half a boat with half an oar he reached the opposite bank. The Nišan shaman saw that he had one eye,
43 a crooked nose, a shriveled ear, a bald head, a crippled foot, and deformed hands. He came near and said, "So you are the shamaness. If it were any other person I surely would not take him across, but since I have heard and am acquainted with your fame, and since the fate that has brought forth your name at this time is in order, it is impossible for me not to ferry you across."

After he said this, the Nišan shaman got into the boat. The lame rogue punted with his pole and rowed with his oar and they crossed to the other side. Afterwards she thanked him and said, "Take three lumps of bean paste and three bundles of paper and keep this as a small insignificant token." She also asked, "Hasn't anyone else gone across this ferry?"

44 The lame rogue replied, "No one else at all has crossed except for Monggoldai Nakcu, relative of the Lord of the Underworld, who passed taking the soul of Sergudai Fiyanggo, son of Baldu Bayan."

The Nišan shaman thanked him and then set off. Proceeding, she soon reached the bank of

the Red River. When she looked around there was no boat to ferry her across and she did not even see the shadow of a person. Consequently there was nothing else to do; she began to murmur, beseeching the spirit:

Eikuli yekuli Great eagle
Eikuli yekuli circling the sky,
Eikuli yekuli silver wagtail
Eikuli yekuli circling the sea,
Eikuli yekuli malicious snake
Eikuli yekuli slithering along the river bank, 45
Eikuli yekuli eight pythons
Eikuli yekuli going along the Jan River--
Eikuli yekuli Young lord, I myself
Eikuli yekuli want to cross
Eikuli yekuli this river.
Eikuli yekuli All you spirits
Eikuli yekuli lifting me, ferry me across.
Eikuli yekuli Hurry!
Eikuli yekuli Reveal your power!
Eikuli yekuli

Then throwing her drum into the water the shaman herself stood on top of it, and like a whirlwind she crossed the river in an instant. She left a fee, three lumps of bean paste and three bundles of paper, for the lord of the river, and once again she set out. Since she traveled quickly she soon reached the main gate. She was about to go through the pass, but the two *hutu*[19] who were guarding the gate, Seletu 46 and Senggitu, screeched, "What person dares to go through this pass? We guard this gate under order of Ilmun Han. Quickly report your business!"

The Nišan shaman said, "I am the Nišan shaman from the realm of the living. I am going to

19. A broad class of harmful spirits. "Seletu" and "Senggitu" are proper names derived from the common nouns *sele* "iron" and *senggi* "blood."

seek Monggoldai Nakcu in the realm of the dead."

The two *hutu* shouted, "If that is so, then according to the rule for entering the pass, one is allowed to pass through only after having left his name and a fee."

When they said this, the Nišan shaman gave them a name tally, three lumps of bean paste, and three bundles of paper. Only then did she go through. Traveling along, she reached a second gate, and as before she left her name and
47 a fee and then traveled through. She thereby reached the gate of Monggoldai Nakcu at the third pass. Her skirt bells shaking, the small bells ringing out, and she herself crying out "*Hoge yage*" in a beautiful voice, she said,

Monggoldai Nakcu,
Hoge yage quickly
Hoge yage come forth!
Hoge yage For what purpose
Hoge yage did you seize and bring here
Hoge yage one who did not have
Hoge yage a full length of life?
Hoge yage When it was not yet his time
Hoge yage you brought him here by force.
Hoge yage If you give him back
Hoge yage I will thank you generously.
Hoge yage If you give him free of charge
Hoge yage I shall thank you.
Hoge yage Halfway in life
Hoge yage you brought him here without reason.
Hoge yage You brought him here deceitfully!
Hoge yage What do you answer to this?

Hoge yage I will not take him away without paying;

Hoge yage I shall leave you a fee. 48
Hoge yage I will not take him away by deceit;
Hoge yage I shall leave goods.
Hoge yage If you give him to me
Hoge yage I will leave bean paste.
Hoge yage If you bring him out and give him to me
Hoge yage I will give you payment.
Hoge yage If you give him right away
Hoge yage I will pay my respects.
Hoge yage If you still do not give him
Hoge yage it will not be good.
Hoge yage The spirits in power will go in flight,
Hoge yage and entering your home
Hoge yage they will take him away!
Hoge yage

With skirt bells shaking, cap waving, and small bells ringing, the Nišan shaman was making her voice clang like metal. Just then Monggoldai Nakcu came out laughing and said, "Nišan shaman, listen carefully! It is true that I am the one who took away Sergudai Fiyanggo, son of Baldu Bayan. Of what concern is that to you? What have I stolen and brought here that is 49
yours that you stand at my gate and bawl me out in a high, blundering voice?"

The Nišan shaman replied, "Although you have not stolen and brought here anything of mine, how could you bring an innocent child here, a person belonging to someone else, one who did not have a full length of life?"

Monggoldai Nakcu said, "That I brought him here was by command of our Ilmun Han. After we brought the child here, in order to test him we hung a gold coin on a high pole. We had him shoot an arrow at a hole in the coin, and he hit it each of the three times. Later, testing him again, we had him grapple with the blue wrestler

and the wrestler was consequently thrown. Next we had him grapple with the lion wrestler, and because the latter did not equal him, our Ilmun Han made Sergudai his son and is raising him
50 lovingly! Could it be possible to give him back to you?"

Listening to this speech the Nišan shaman became very angry and said to Monggoldai Nakcu, "If that is so, then it seems that this does not have anything to do with you. You after all are a good man. I have set out to seek Ilmun Han, and according to my own capability, I will either obtain or not obtain Sergudai Fiyanggo. If my power is great, then I will get him. If my power is insufficient, then I am finished. It does not have anything to do with you!"

Having said this, she set out to seek the city of the ruler, and in no time she arrived and saw that the gate was closed fast. Being unable to enter, the Nišan shaman looked around, but since the city walls had been built firm and solid she became angry and began to murmur:

51 *Kerani kerani* Great soaring bird
Kerani kerani nested
Kerani kerani on Eastern Mountain,
Kerani kerani sandalwood kingfisher
Kerani kerani on Cangling Mountain,
Kerani kerani oakwood badger
Kerani kerani resting
Kerani kerani on Mangga Mountain,
Kerani kerani nine snakes,
Kerani kerani eight pythons,
Kerani kerani small tiger,
Kerani kerani wolverine,
Kerani kerani resting
Kerani kerani in rocky lairs
Kerani kerani and iron passes,
Kerani kerani golden wagtail
Kerani kerani circling the mountain,
Kerani kerani silver wagtail

Kerani kerani circling the sea,
Kerani kerani flying hawk
Kerani kerani lead eagle,
Kerani kerani many-colored eagle,
Kerani kerani vultures of the earth, 52
Kerani kerani nine columns,
Kerani kerani twelve rows,
Kerani kerani flock of vultures--
Kerani kerani quickly
Kerani kerani enter the city by flying
Kerani kerani and bring him!
Kerani kerani With your talons
Kerani kerani grasping, bring him!
Kerani kerani With your claws
Kerani kerani seizing, bring him!
Kerani kerani Put him across your backs
Kerani kerani in a golden censer and bring him!
Kerani kerani Turn him over
Kerani kerani in a silver censer and bring him!
Kerani kerani By the strength of your shoulders
Kerani kerani lifting, bring him!
Kerani kerani

When she finished, all the spirits rose up in flight and became like clouds and fog.

As Sergudai Fiyanggo was playing with other children, tossing gold and silver anklebone 53
dice, a great bird came down, seized him in his talons, and rising up, took him away. The other children saw this and were frightened. They ran into the house and reported to the ruler, their father, "Something bad has happened! A bird came, seized our brother Sergudai Fiyanggo, and took him away!"

When Ilmun Han heard this he became very angry. A *hutu* was dispatched who summoned Monggoldai Nakcu and brought him to Ilmun Han.

Ilmun Han scolded him saying, "A great bird has seized and taken away Sergudai Fiyanggo whom you brought here. This had better not be of your doing! How could you possibly do this to me?"

As Ilmun Han said this Monggoldai calmly thought, "It is probably no one else but the Nišan shaman." Then he said, "Master, do not be angry. It is probably none other than the
54 Nišan shaman, who first appeared in the realm of the living and has since become well known in your great land, who has come and taken him away. I will go in pursuit now and try to find her. This shaman should not be compared to others!" Saying this, he set out at once in pursuit.

Meanwhile, the Nišan shaman was rejoicing greatly because she had obtained Sergudai Fiyanggo. She grasped his hand and was leading him back, but just as she was proceeding along the former route, Monggoldai, who was pursuing from behind, called out, "Shaman, elder sister, wait a moment! Let us talk a bit about right and wrong. Is it proper to take him away on the sly? I managed to bring him here with difficulty, spending a good deal of effort. Do you really intend to take Sergudai Fiyanggo away without payment, relying on your shamanism? Our Ilmun Han is angry and is blaming me. Now how can I answer? Shaman, elder sister, consider
55 this calmly: of course it is not in keeping with principles for you to take him away without even paying a fee!"

The Nišan shaman replied, "If you, Monggoldai, are merely asking me, I will still leave you a small fee. However, if you are acting forcibly, using your ruler as a prop, who fears you? We are faced with an important matter; let's settle it once and for all."

Saying this she gave him three lumps of bean paste and three handfuls of paper. Then

Monggoldai entreated again, "The fee you give is too small. Won't you increase it a bit more?"

The Nišan shaman gave him another portion but he again implored, "When I give this small fee to our ruler it will truly be of no avail. Alter all, how could he pardon my offense? What I request is that you, shaman, would leave me the rooster and the dog that you brought, and I will give them to Ilmun Han who would then pardon my offense, He has no dogs for hunting nor rooster to crow at night. Since our ruler would be pleased with these, in the first place your affair, shaman, would be settled, and in the second place he would pardon my offense." 56

The Nišan shaman replied, "That really would be advantageous for both sides. But only if you will grant Sergudai an increase in length of life will I leave you this dog and rooster and go away."

Monggoldai answered, "Shaman, elder sister, if you speak like this, then looking you in the eye I will add twenty years to his life span."

The shaman said, "Since you would take him at a time when his snivel is still not dry, it will be of no benefit." 57

"If that is the case, I will add thirty years of life."

"Since you would take him when his mind is not yet settled, it will be of no benefit."

"If that is the case, I will add forty years to his life."

"Since you would take him when he has not yet received honor and nobility, there would still be no benefit."

"If that is the case, I will add fifty years of life."

"Since you would take him when he is not yet wise and worthy, there will still be no benefit."

"If that is the case, I will add sixty years to his life."

"Since you would take him when he has not yet learned to use the bow and arrow, there would still be no benefit."

"If that is the case, I will add seventy years to his life."

"Since you would take him when he has not yet learned craftsmanship, there would still be no benefit."

"If that is the case, I will add eighty years to his life."

58 "Since you would take him when he does not yet understand the affairs of his age, there would still be no benefit."

"If that is the case, I will add ninety years to his life span. As for adding more, I cannot. From this time on, up to age sixty Sergudai will have no illness. Up to age one hundred he will not be frail. Let him raise nine children to gather around him. Let him see eight sons put a generation in motion. Until his hair turns white, his teeth turn yellow, his waist becomes bent, his eyes grow dim, and his feet begin to lag, let him urinate standing up and defecate squatting down."

At this the Nišan shaman thanked him and said, "If you grant sentiments such as this, I will give you both the rooster and the dog. Call the rooster by saying *Ǎši* and call the dog by saying *Ceo*."

59 Monggoldai Nakcu thanked her and was very happy. As he was leaving with the rooster and the dog, he thought, "Let me try calling them as a test."

When he released them and called out "*Ǎši, ǎši, ceo, ceo,*" both the rooster and the dog turned back and to his surprise went chasing after the Nišan shaman. Monggoldai was frightened and went running after them until he was out of breath. Gasping and panting he implored, "Shaman, elder sister, why do you play tricks? How is it that when I called your rooster and

dog, they both turned around and went away? I beg of you, do not deceive me. If I do not take these two things back, this really will not work out. How will I be able to endure it when the ruler blames me?"

When he had implored again and again the Nišan shaman laughed and said, "I've joked enough. From now on remember well what I am going to tell you. Call the rooster by saying *Gu, gu,* and call the dog by saying *Eri, eri.*" 60

Then Monggoldai said, "Elder sister, you were only joking a bit, but I have broken out in a cold sweat."

When he called them according to what the shaman had said, both the rooster and the dog stayed close to Monggoldai and followed after him, wagging head and tail.

As the Nišan shaman was taking Sergudai by the hand and walking along leading him, she met her husband at the side of the road. She saw that he was boiling a cauldron of oil on a fire of sorghum stalks. Looking at his appearance she could see that he was angry. When he saw his wife he gnashed his teeth threateningly, and 61 hatefully said, "Fickle Nišan, instead of achieving the revival of all others, is there anything wrong with managing to revive me, your dear warm husband who was married to you from youth? I have especially boiled a cauldron of oil here and have been awaiting you. Quickly say whether you will bring me back to life or not. If you really won't revive me then I simply will not let you go on and this cauldron will immediately become your adversary!"

In reply the Nišan shaman entreated him:

Dear husband,
Hailambi šulembi listen quickly!
Hailambi šulembi Dear man,
Hailambi šulembi listen right here and now!
Hailambi šulembi Having opened your